

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 113531
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S:DKEOGH
APPROVED BY AF - WESCHAUFLE
IO/UNP:HELLMAN
IO/UNA:JTEFFT
S/P:MASPIEGEL
AF:WBEDMONDSON
S/S:FGWISNER
S/S-0:AOTTO

-----180308Z 053695 /61

O 180111Z MAY 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 113531

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (MONDALE, WALTER F.)

SUBJECT: BRIEFING PAPER FOR VICE PRESIDENT ON SOUTHERN
AFRICAN ISSUES

1. YOUNG VISIT: SAG ADVISED MAY 17 (CT 807) THAT IT
AGREED TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG TRAVELLING TO SOUTH AFRICA
ON OFFICIAL AIRCRAFT CARRYING FULL PARTY INCLUDING PRESS.
SCHEDULE FOR YOUNG VISIT REMAINS ARRIVAL MAY 21, MEETING
WITH BUSINESS LEADERS. MAY 22 (AFTERNOON) RECEPTION FOR
WIDE RANGE OF SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENS, FOLLOWED BY DEPARTURE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 113531

FOR KHARTOUM. AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAS GIVEN GENERAL APPROVAL
FOR GUEST LIST FOR RECEPTION. HE WILL MEET SEPARATELY AND
PRIVATELY WITH EDITORS OF MAJOR SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSPAPERS.

2. SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR PRESENTS CREDENTIALS: DURING
MAY 16 PRESENTATION CEREMONY, AMBASSADOR SOLE REMARKED HE
BEGINNING HIS MISSION AT A TIME WHEN U.S.-SOUTH AFRICAN

RELATIONS WERE AT A WATERSHED". SOLE EMPHASIZED NEED FOR FRANKNESS AND CANDOR IN U.S.-SOUTH AFRICAN EXCHANGES. THE PRESIDENT AGREED, ADDING THAT VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE WOULD SPEAK FOR HIM DURING VIENNA MEETING WITH VORSTER. THE PRESIDENT SAID WE DESIRED GOOD RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, AND NOTED THE VICE PRESIDENT'S CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE. THE PRESIDENT OBSERVED WE HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO TO MAKE PROGRESS

IN RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. SOLE COMMENTED THAT SOME PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE ON NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA DESERVED RECOGNITION FOR IT.

3. BANISHMENT OF WINNIE MANDELA: A POLICE SPOKESMAN ANNOUNCED ON MAY 16 THAT MRS. WINNIE MANDELA, WIFE OF JAILED AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA, HAS BEEN REQUIRED TO MOVE FROM SOWETO TO A REMOTE VILLAGE IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE. MRS. MANDELA HAS BEEN POLITICALLY ACTIVE IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR MANY YEARS. SHE HELPED FOUND THE BLACK PARENTS ASSOCIATION SOON AFTER THE RIOTS BEGAN IN SOWETO LAST JUNE. THE ASSOCIATION INCLUDED A NUMBER OF PROMINENT AFRICANS, SUCH AS BISHOP MANAS BUTHELEZI, WHO ENDEAVORED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO MEDIATE BETWEEN THE STUDENTS AND THE AUTHORITIES. PRESUMABLY AS THE RESULT OF THIS ACTIVITY, SHE WAS DETAINED IN AUGUST 1976 AND KEPT IN DETENTION UNTIL DECEMBER. SHE WAS BANNED (I.E. RESTRICTED IN HER ACTIVITIES AND ASSOCIATIONS) SOON AFTER HER RELEASE FROM DETENTION. MRS. MANDELA HAS NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY CHARGED WITH OR TRIED FOR ANY OFFENSE UNDER SOUTH AFRICAN LAW.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 113531

4. REACTIONS TO CONTACT GROUP BRIEFINGS ON NAMIBIA; INITIAL REACTIONS OF THOSE NATIONAL LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS BRIEFED ON THE CAPE TOWN TALKS HAVE RANGED FROM PASSIVITY, TO CAUTIOUS APPROVAL TO CONGRATULATIONS. PRELIMINARY RESPONSES OF THE BLACK AFRICANS REFLECTED CONCERN FOR THE POSITION OF SWAPO; DISTRUST OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS; AND THE FEELING THAT THE WESTERN INITIATIVE WAS TIMELY AND WELCOME IF IT HELPS ACHIEVE AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. PRESUMABLY MANY OF THE AFRICAN PARTIES WILL CONSULT ONE ANOTHER AND WITH SWAPO. MORE DEFINITIVE RESPONSES CAN BE EXPECTED IN CONVERSATIONS CONDUCTED AT THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE AND AFTERWARDS, ON THE BASIS OF WHICH THE CONTACT GROUP WILL PLAN ITS FURTHER TALKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. (VICE PRESIDENT MIGHT COMMENT TO THAT EFFECT TO VORSTER, BUT NOT GO INTO SPECIFICS SINCE REACTIONS HAVE BEEN FRAGMENTARY THUS FAR AND POSSIBLY MISLEADING.) REACTIONS THUS FAR CAN BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

A. TANZANIA - NYERERE INSISTED THAT ANY INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA BE INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE AND THAT SUCH A GOVERNMENT MIGHT MOST LIKELY COME ABOUT THROUGH A CONFERENCE/ELECTION WITH LARGE-SCALE UN INVOLVEMENT. SWAPO MUST BE CONSIDERED AND ANIMOSITY BETWEEN VORSTER AND SWAPO/NUJOMA COULD AFFECT THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS ADVERSELY. NYERERE WOULD ATTEMPT TO SAVE FACE FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT (SAG) AND ONCE AGAIN PROMISED TO "DELIVER NUJOMA" IF IT IS CLEAR THAT THE SAG IS SERIOUS ABOUT AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION.

B. BOTSWANA - MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MOGWE REACTED APPROVINGLY BUT NOTED THAT CUES ON THE FORM OF ANY SETTLEMENT MUST BE TAKEN FROM SWAPO, WHOSE CONDITIONS ARE NOT EXTREME. BOTSWANA SUPPORTS FREE ELECTIONS IN THE BELIEF THAT IF SWAPO TRULY IS THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE, THEY WOULD WIN.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 113531

C. NIGERIA - THE MIDDLE LEVEL NIGERIAN RESPONSE WAS PROTECTIVE OF SWAPO AND DISTRUSTFUL OF VORSTER. THE NIGERIANS FELT THAT THE CG INITIATIVE WAS A WELCOME STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

D. ZAMBIA - MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS SILWIZYA WAS HOPEFUL THAT THE TIMELY ACTION BY THE CG TO GET THE SAG TO PUT ASIDE THE TURNHALLE CONSTITUTION AND TO MOVE TOWARD A SOLUTION WHICH WOULD INCLUDE SWAPO WILL PREVENT THE NAMIBIA SITUATION FROM GETTING WORSE. SILWIZYA QUESTIONED SOUTH AFRICAN CREDIBILITY AND FELT THAT FREQUENT BRIEFINGS OF SWAPO ARE VITAL.

E. MOZAMBIQUE - MACHEL'S REACTION (MOST EXTREME AMONG THOSE BRIEFED, INCLUDING SWAPO) WAS THAT SWAPO IS THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA AND SHOULD NOT HAVE TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS TO PROVE THIS. MACHEL QUESTIONED WHETHER EUROPEANS IN NAMIBIA SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO PARTICIPATE IN AN ELECTORAL PROCESS AT ALL. HOWEVER, TO THE EXTENT THAT THE FIVE ARE SEEN TO BE WORKING FOR "REAL" INDEPENDENCE IN NAMIBIA, MOZAMBIQUE WILL SUPPORT THEIR ENDEAVOR. MACHEL'S SPEECH AT THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE WAS SIGNIFICANTLY MORE MODERATE, HOWEVER.

F. SWAPO - OFFICIALS OF SWAPO WHO WERE BRIEFED IN LUSAKA, NAMIBIA, AND THE UN DECLINED SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT. PENDING THE BRIEFING OF SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA, THEY MERELY QUESTIONED THE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF SAG PROPOSALS AND PROMISES AND SHOWED CONCERN REGARDING THE RESULTS OF AN ELECTORAL CONTEST. NUJOMA'S INITIAL ORAL RESPONSE WAS ONE OF APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE FIVE BUT ALSO

OF STRIDENT CONDEMNATION OF THEIR CONTACTS WITH THE
TURNHALLE PARTICIPANTS. HE PROMISED A CONSIDERED, WRITTEN
RESPONSE TO THE WESTERN PRESENTATION. NUJOMA WAS CORDIAL
AND HIS ADDRESS AT THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE (SEE BELOW)
HELD OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 113531

LINE WITH RESOLUTION 385.

G. THE TURNHALLE PARTICIPANTS - THE TURNHALLE WERE DIS-
MAYED AT THE NEWS OF THE SCRAPPING OF THEIR WORK AND
REITERATED THEIR SUPPORT FOR AN ETHNICALLY-BASED GOVERN-
MENT IN NAMIBIA AND THEIR DISTRUST OF THE UN. THEY
CLAIMED CONFIDENCE THAT THEY COULD DEFEAT SWAPO IN AN
ELECTION BUT DID NOT REGARD ELECTIONS AS PREFERABLE TO
AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

H. NAMIBIAN CHURCH GROUPS - THE LEADERS OF BLACK AND
MIXED CHURCHES ALL AGREED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF EARLY
ELECTIONS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, HELD UNDER UN
SUPERVISION, AND OF THE NECESSITY FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN
SWAPO AND THE SAG. THE WHITE CHURCHES, LIKE THE TURNHALLE,
DOUBTED THE CAPACITY OF THE UN TO ORGANIZE REALLY FREE
ELECTIONS AND OPPOSED THE PARTICIPATION OF SWAPO IN THE
POLITICAL PROCESS.

I. FEDERAL PARTY AND THE GERMAN GROUP (IGD) EXPRESSED
INTEREST IN THE ELECTORAL ARRANGEMENTS AND ADVOCATED A
COMBINATION OF NATIONAL AND ETHNIC VOTER ROLLS, THEIR
CONCERN OVER THE SECURITY ASPECTS OF ANY SETTLEMENT
AND THE FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NAMIBIA AND THE WEST.

J. UN COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA AHTISAARI - AHTISAARI
CHARACTERIZED THE TALKS AS "VERY RESPECTABLE". HE
CAUTIONED THAT THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY
WHICH THE SAG HAS PROPOSED MUST NOT TOO CLOSELY RESEMBLE
THE TURNHALLE INTERIM GOVERNMENT; IN ADDITION A WAY MUST
BE FOUND TO WITHDRAW SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES. AHTISAARI
ALSO ADDED THAT THE REQUIREMENT FOR RELEASE OF ALL
POLITICAL PRISONERS SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED TO INCLUDE
THOSE HELD IN SWAPO PRISON CAMPS IN ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA.

K. WALDHEIM - THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL WAS BOTH
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 113531

CAUTIOUS AND SYMPATHETIC WHEN TOLD OF THE CAPE TOWN DIS-

CUSSIONS. HE NOTED THAT NONE OF THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD HAVE A VETO OVER THE CHOICE OF UN REPRESENTATIVES TO NEGOTIATIONS AND URGED THE FIVE TO BE CERTAIN THAT SWAPO IS KEPT INFORMED.

5. STATE OF PLAY AT MAPUTO CONFERENCE: THE UN CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA OPENED ON MAY 16 AND, OTHER THAN THE VARIOUS OPENING ADDRESSES, LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE HAS SO FAR TAKEN PLACE. AS EXPECTED, OPENING SPEECHES HAVE BEEN, FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, ESSENTIALLY NEGATIVE. SPEAKERS GENERALLY EMPHASIZED THE PRIMACY OF ARMED STRUGGLE AS THE ROUTE TO SOLUTION IN ZIMBABWE AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, IN NAMIBIA. SWAPO'S ROLE AS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN

PEOPLE HAS BEEN REAFFIRMED BUT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAS NOT YET BEEN ACCORDED THAT STATUS FOR ZIMBABWE. WE CONTINUE TO EXPECT THAT THE MILITANT NATURE OF THE CONFERENCE WILL CAUSE US AND OUR FOUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES TO DISASSOCIATE OURSELVES FROM THE FINAL DECLARATION.

6. EFFECT OF NUJOMA SPEECH AT MAPUTO ON NAMIBIA EXERCISE: NUJOMA'S ADDRESS AT MAPUTO MAY 16 WAS MORE MODERATE THAN THE ONE HE HAD ORIGINALLY INTENDED TO GIVE. AS EXPECTED HE INSISTED THAT SWAPO IS THE ONLY ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS A RIGHT TO SPEAK FOR THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AND CASTIGATED THE "FIVE" FOR MEETING WITH VORSTER ON NAMIBIA. THE TONE OF NUJOMA'S SPEECH WAS MILITANT BUT HIS DEMANDS ALL SEEM TO FALL WITHIN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385. WE ARE REPEATING TO YOU MAPUTO 553, REPORTING ON NUJOMA'S SPEECH.

7. RHODESIA - RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:

A. CONSULTATIVE GROUP: THE UK CONSULTATIVE GROUP LEAD BY FCO UNDER SECRETARY GRAHAM HAS ARRIVED IN LUSAKA WHERE IT WAS JOINED BY STEPHEN LOW, OUR AMBASSADOR TO ZAMBIA.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 113531

LOW HAS BEEN DESIGNATED AS THE SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL ASSIGNED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH GRAHAM. AFTER A FEW DAYS IN LUSAKA THE GROUP PLANS TO TRAVEL TO BOTSWANA FOR MEETINGS WITH BISHOP MUZOREWA AND THEN, IF POSSIBLE, TO MAPUTO TO MEET WITH ROBERT MUGABE.

B. MUGABE BRIEFED: AFTER UNSUCCESSFULLY TRYING TO TRACK MUGABE DOWN IN GHANA, LIBYA AND SOMALIA, WE FINALLY MADE CONTACT WITH HIM MAY 14 IN DAR ES SALAAM. OUR AMBASSADOR BRIEFED HIM ON THE NATURE OF THE CONSULTATIVE PHASE WE ARE NOW ENTERING AND OUR ROLE IN IT. MUGABE DISPLAYED SERIOUS SUSPICIONS ABOUT U.S. MOTIVES AND ATTEMPTS TO "MANIPULATE EVENTS" IN OUR FAVOR. HE REPEATEDLY ASKED

IN WHAT MANNER THE U.S. WAS PREPARED TO PRESSURE SMITH TO BRING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT. HOWEVER, ACCEPTING HIS CONCERNS ABOUT THE U.S. ROLE, HE HAS APPARENTLY DECIDED THAT THE OWEN PROPOSAL IS WORTH FOLLOWING THROUGH ON. IN HIS MAY 16 SPEECH TO THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE, MUGABE SPOUSED THE SAME LINE, ARGUING THAT HE WAS AGAINST THE TYPE OF SUPERPOWER INVOLVEMENT THAT DIRECT AMERICAN PRESENCE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD REPRESENT. HE STATED THAT THE UK IS, HOWEVER, FREE TO MARSHALL SUPPORT FROM ITS FRIENDS, BUT THAT THIS CAN BE DONE INFORMALLY.

C. MEETING WITH SITHOLE: PRIOR TO LEAVING LONDON GRAHAM MET WITH REVEREND SITHOLE AND REVIEWED FOR HIM HOW THE BRITISH HOPE TO SEE THE NEGOTIATIONS EVOLVE. THE FIRST ROUND OF TALKS WILL BE BASICALLY EXPLORATORY IN NATURE. AN EMBASSY OFFICER WHO ATTENDED THE MEETING DESCRIBED GRAHAM'S STYLE AS LOW KEY AND OPEN. SITHOLE SEEMED GENERALLY RESPONSIVE, AS HE HAD IN HIS ACCRA MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR YOUNG, BUT DID NOT FORMALLY STATE HIS POSITION. HE LATER APPROACHED OUR LONDON CHARGE AND URGED THAT WE PRESSURE FOR SMITH'S RESIGNATION NOW. WITHOUT THIS, HE ASSERTED, THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL FAIL JUST AS OTHERS IN WHICH SMITH HAS PARTICIPATED HAVE FAILED IN THE PAST. HE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 08 STATE 113531

WAS TOLD THAT WE BELIEVE SMITH HAS NO INTENTION OF RESIGNING AT THIS TIME AND TO ATTEMPT TO SECURE HIS IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE SCENE WOULD BE A NONSTARTER.

8. SMITH THREATENS ZAMBIA:

A. SMITH'S THREAT LAST WEEK TO LAUNCH PREEMPTIVE ACTIONS AGAINST GUERRILLA BASES IN ZAMBIA PROBABLY DOES NOT PORTEND IMMINENT RHODESIAN CROSS-BORDER STRIKES INTO ZAMBIA, ALTHOUGH IT MAY WELL REFLECT RHODESIAN CONCERN ABOUT THE FUTURE LEVEL OF ZAPU INCURSIONS FROM THERE. THE PUBLICATION OF THE THREAT, ZAMBIAN UNHAPPINESS WITH BRITISH HANDLING OF THE ISSUE, AND KAUNDA'S DECLARATION THAT ZAMBIA IS "IN A STATE OF WAR" AGAINST RHODESIA MAY TEMPORARILY IMPEDE THE BRITISH NEGOTIATION EFFORT. KAUNDA SATISFIED HIS PIQUE AGAINST THE BRITISH BY ANNOUNCING THAT NO PLANES COULD FLY FROM ZAMBIA TO RHODESIA WHICH WILL CAUSE ONLY MINOR, IF ANY, INCONVENIENCE TO THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP.

B. KAUNDA CANNOT AFFORD TO BE SEEN TO BE BACKING AWAY FROM FULL SUPPORT OF THE GUERRILLA WAR. SMITH CANNOT APPEAR IRRESOLUTE -- EITHER IN AFRICAN OR WHITE RHODESIAN EYES -- IN THE FACE OF THREATS OF STEPPED-UP GUERRILLA ATTACKS. NONETHELESS, PRESIDENT CARTER'S AND PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN'S ASSURANCES TO KAUNDA THAT SMITH

WOULD BE CAUTIONED AGAINST ESCALATION -- AND THE U.S. AND U.K. WARNINGS TO THE RHODESIANS -- HAVE PROBABLY ALREADY BEGUN TO LOWER THE TEMPERATURE. IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE ON THE 16TH, KAUNDA ENDORSED THE UK-US NEGOTIATIONS AND THE USE OF LUSAKA AS THE BASE FOR THE CONSULTATIONS. A RHODESIAN SPOKESMAN STATED THAT RHODESIA HAD NO AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS AGAINST ANY NEIGHBORING STATES, INCLUDING ZAMBIA, AND THAT ITS INTENTION HAD BEEN TO "WARN" KAUNDA AGAINST ANY ACTION THAT MIGHT JEOPARDIZE SETTLEMENT EFFORTS. SMITH SUBSEQUENTLY SENT US A MESSAGE DENYING THAT HE INTENDED TO ATTACK ZAMBIA, BUT ASSERTING RHODESIA'S RIGHT TO DE-
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 09 STATE 113531

FEND ITSELF.

C. NONETHELESS, KAUNDA INSISTED THAT HE WOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S WAR AGAINST RHODESIA, AND SMITH STATED THAT "WE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO TOLERATE A SITUATION WHERE THESE ATTACKS CAN BE MOUNTED WITH IMPUNITY FROM NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES." BOTH SIDES WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE PRESENT IMBROGLIO TO ENHANCE THEIR PROPAGANDA AND NEGOTIATING POSITIONS. HOWEVER, WE DOUBT THAT EITHER LUSAKA OR SALISBURY WANTS TO ENDANGER THE NEGOTIATIONS AS SUCH.

D. SOUTH AFRICA HAS NOT YET PUBLICLY DECLARED ITS POSITION, BUT MAY BE EXPECTED TO URGE SMITH TO AVOID ESCALATION OF THE CONFLICT AT THIS TIME, AND TO ASK THE U.S. AND THE U.K. TO GET THE OTHER SIDE TO DO THE SAME. WE BELIEVE THAT VORSTER IS COMMITTED TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, AND HE HAS, IN THE PAST, EXHORTED SMITH TO AVOID ACTIONS THAT WOULD ABORT THE PROCESS. A CASE IN POINT WAS PRETORIA'S SHARP CRITICISM OF LARGE-SCALE RHODESIAN INCURSIONS INTO MOZAMBIQUE LAST WINTER WHILE NEGOTIATIONS WERE UNDER WAY. WE DO NOT EXPECT A RHODESIAN STRIKE INTO ZAMBIA UNTIL THE GUERRILLAS BEGAN OPERATING IN FORCE FROM THAT COUNTRY, WHICH THEY CANNOT DO YET.

9. RHODESIAN INCURSION INTO BOTSWANA: THE MAY 16 RHODESIAN STRIKE INTO BOTSWANA, HOWEVER, MAY ITSELF HAVE THE EFFECT OF WARNING THE ZAMBIANS, ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT IT WAS INTENTIONALLY ORCHESTRATED WITH SMITH'S MESSAGE TO THE ZAMBIANS. THE BOTSWANANS HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT THE STRIKE WAS TARGETTED AGAINST A BOTSWANA MILITARY CAMP. THE RHODESIANS HAVE ADMITTED THE INCURSION, BUT DESCRIBED IT AS A "HOT PURSUIT" OF GUERRILLAS WHO HAD MURDERED A WHITE COUPLE AND THEIR SERVANTS ON MAY 15. WE HAVE EXPRESSED OUR SUPPORT AND SYMPATHY TO THE BOTSWANANS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 10 STATE 113531

AND HAVE WARNED SMITH AGAIN, THROUGH HIS CAPE TOWN REPRESENTATIVE, THAT HE IS SERIOUSLY PREJUDICING THE NEGOTIATING EFFORTS.

10. ADDITIONAL TALKING POINTS: THE FOLLOWING ARE OFFERED FOR VICE PRESIDENT'S USE ON RHODESIAN CROSS-BORDER OPERATIONS:

--FURTHER RHODESIAN THREATS AGAINST ZAMBIA AND CROSS-BORDER INCURSION INTO BOTSWANA COULD HAVE DISASTROUS POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS AND SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR NEGOTIATING EFFORTS.

--SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE SMITH THAT THE MILITARY ADVANTAGES HE MIGHT OBTAIN IN THIS FASHION ARE TRANSITORY IN NATURE, BUT THAT THE POTENTIAL DERAILMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS WELL COULD BE PERMANENT AND DAMAGING.

1. VICE PRESIDENT MAY WANT TO PURSUE THE ISSUE WITH VORSTER FURTHER OR HAVE OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS DELEGATION RAISE THE QUESTION IN SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH BOTHA OR FOURIE. FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS COULD BE DAWN UPON:

--WE WERE VERY DISTRESSED BY THE RHODESIAN INCURSION INTO BOTSWANA. IT CAME AT PRECISELY THE WORST TIME, FOLLOWING SO CLOSELY ON KAUNDA'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND OUR ADMONITIONS TO SMITH ON THE ZAMBIAN "PREEMPTIVE STRIKE" QUESTION, AND COINCIDING WITH THE OPENING OF THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE.

--WE HAVE TOLD SMITH, THROUGH HIS CAPE TOWN REPRESENTATIVE HAWKINS, THAT WHAT WE SAID ABOUT THE DAMAGING EFFECT OF PREEMPTIVE STRIKES IN RELATION TO ZAMBIA APPLIES EQUALLY TO HOT PURSUIT OR RETALIATORY ATTACKS ON NEIGHBORING STATES.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 11 STATE 113531

--AS YOU WELL KNOW, THE GOVERNMENT OF BOTSWANA IS INCAPABLE OF DEFENDING ITS TERRITORY AND OF CONTROLLING ANY GUERRILLAS OPERATING WITHIN IT. ATTACKING ITS DEFENSE FORCES IS A NEEDLESS PROVOCATION.

--THE RHODESIAN ACTIONS GIVE THE IMPRESSION TO ALREADY

SKEPTICAL ONLOOKERS THAT SMITH IS PREPARING TO WIDEN THE WAR RATHER THAN BEGIN TO NEGOTIATE AN END TO HOSTILITIES. HIS ACTIONS PROVIDE FURTHER PRETEXT FOR THOSE FORCES WHO DO NOT WISH TO SEE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT COME ABOUT. IF THE INCURSIONS CONTINUE, THE ISSUE WILL PROBABLY BE RAISED IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WHERE THERE WILL BE DEMANDS FOR ACTION.

--WHILE WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO ASSISTING THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS, SMITH IS COMPLICATING THE ISSUE FOR US.

--WE UNDERSTAND SMITH'S ANGER AND CONCERN OVER THE KILLING OF WHITE AND BLACK CIVILIANS AND HIS USE OF THIS FOR JUSTIFICATION FOR HOT PURSUIT. WE DO NOT CONDONE KILLING OF CIVILIANS AND ALL THE PARTIES KNOW OUR POSITION. NEVERTHELESS, WE MUST BOTH REITERATE TO SMITH THAT NOW IS THE TIME FOR RESTRAINT RATHER THAN FOR INCREASINGLY BELLICOSE RHETORIC AND ACTION.

CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BRIEFING MATERIALS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 18-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE113531
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: DKEOGH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770176-0037
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770543/aaaabkza.tel
Line Count: 460
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 7ec4e390-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2467850
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BRIEFING PAPER FOR VICE PRESIDENT ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, SF, US, (MONDALE, WALTER F)
To: VIENNA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/7ec4e390-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009